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H. A. Neff

History of the People's Party with
Special Reference to Illinois

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY WITH
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ILLINOIS

BY

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY Harold A. Neff

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

Numerous reform movements have developed in the United States since the Civil War. During these years, agrarian and labor organizations had arisen, have formed political parties, and had gone down into obscurity, only to be followed by other movements, equally determined to carry on a program of reform. Defeat failed to discourage; behind their persistent effort was the belief that no reform, sufficient for the hour, could come except by a removal of the dominant parties from power. These movements were especially strong in the new and growing country of the west. Illinois, a well established state, did not permit a development like that of unsettled Kansas, Nebraska or Dakota. The last of this string of political parties, the populist party, was not an exception; like its predecessors, it was stronger in the western than in the central states. A view of the party from Illinois, does, however, show the effect of a radical movement upon a somewhat conservative state.

Problems of our economic and monetary systems were of long standing. At first they were merely differences between the older parties. Instances may be found early in our national history, which show a difference of opinion in the settlement of the monetary question. Hamilton favored free coinage of gold and silver at a ratio of sixteen to one, (1) while Jefferson held out for a single silver standard (2) The currency question was important during the days of Andrew Jackson, and in fact was a constant source of contention.(3) Another

1. White, Money and Banking, p. 32. 2. Jefferson, Works v.3, p. 149ff. 3. McMaster, History of the People of the U. S., V.7, p.1.

problem of deepseated importance was industrial unrest. McMaster takes note of its presence before the Civil War, although little danger resulted. (4) These questions were overshadowed by the overwhelming predominance of the great economic, social and moral question before the country, the slavery issue. Problems of slavery, money, and industrial unrest were running side by side, and when the first of these was put out of existence by the Civil War, the other two were still to be settled.

After the Civil War, this feeling of protest took the form of political parties, the story of which is a story of succession of failures. In 1872, a labor convention was held at Buffalo and nominated Judge David Davis for President, (5) but the little party was readily devoured by the Liberal Republican party of that year. (6) The party changed its name many times. In 1876, it was called the Independent National Party; (7) in 1880, it was called the Greenback party, and this proved the strongest of the string of third parties with General Weaver of Iowa its candidate; (8) in 1884, the Greenback or People's party, ran a very poor third; (9) and in 1888 the Labor Union party received even less support than any of the previous parties. (10) The party leadership and party platforms had

4. McMaster, History of the People of the U. S. v. 5, p. 99.

5. McKee, National Conventions and Political Parties, p. 141.

6. Judge Davis, judge of the Supreme Court, was one of the most interesting characters of the period. 7. McKee, National Conventions and Political Parties, p. 173. 8. Ibid, p. 199.

9. Ibid p.229. 10. Ibid, p. 257.

been almost continuous. Such men as Weaver of Iowa, Cooper of New York, and Butler of Massachusetts held together through many discouraging years, (11) while their demands were in the main, the same. They wanted more money and they wanted it issued directly to the people. (12) Other planks such as the direct election of senators, government ownership of railroads, and postal savings banks were added from time to time, but the chief emphasis was upon the monetary issue.

Illinoisans were occasionally prominent in the party; but seldom with anyone above average prominence in the country. Judge Davis received the Labor Reform nomination for president in 1872. (13) Alexander Campbell of LaSalle, who had been affiliated with Lincoln in the issuance of Greenbacks during the Civil War, was elected to Congress in 1876; (14) and in 1880 received 21 votes for president in the Greenback convention. (15) In the same year, Adlai Stepehenson of District 16, who was later Democratic candidate for vice president, and Wm. B. Anderson of Mt. Vernon secured places in Congress. (16) Jesse Harper and David Davis received votes for the presidential nomination in the Greenback convention of 1884; (17) and ~~Alson~~, J. Streeter of New Windsor received the Labor Union nomination in 1888. (18) At various times, notables such as Clarence Darrow and Lyman Trumbull were associated with these movements, but the main work of organizing the new parties fell upon the old wheel-horses, such men as "Uncle Jesse" Harper, a pioneer reformer and lawyer

11. Ibid. under conventions; see also committees in Daily News Almanac. 12. Appendix A, as end of thesis. 13. McKee, p. 141. 14.. Ferris, Notes on interview, June 15, 1919; Illinois Blue Book 1919-20; p. 503. 15. McKee, National Conventions and Platforms, p. 191. 16. Illinois Blue Book, 1919-20, p. 503. 17. McKee, p. 25 18. McKee, p. 257. 19. Ferriss, J. H. Notes on interview of

of Danville, Seymour F. Norton of Chicago, Alson J. Streeter of New Windsor, and Herman E. Taubeneck of Marshall, Illinois. (19) Although these movements did not represent a single continuous organization, a decided relationship between these parties is shown by comparison of the platform and leaders of the party conventions. "I joined the movement in 1876," wrote James H. Ferriss, editor of the Joliet, Illinois News, "and was editor of a populist newspaper for thirty-eight years. The party changed its name several times, but the platform remained practically the same." (20)

At no time from 1870 to 1890 were the third parties able to gather together platform or candidates, that were attractive to a large number of voters, either in Illinois or in the country at large. As one Illinois leader put it, the principles and leaders of the movements were of such unpopularity and the object of such derision, that it was always of advantage to change the party name every political campaign, until the formation of the people's party in 1891. (21)

Parallel with the succession of third parties occurred the organization of numerous farmer and labor organizations. But unlike the third parties the little groups did not die out, but rather continued to thrive and increase in number. In 1867, the Granger movement began; (22) in 1869, the Knights of Labor organized; in 1879, the Farmers' Alliance formed; and in 1883, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association came into existence.

June 15, 1919. 20. Ferriss, Letter, May 3, 1919. 21. Ferriss, Interview, June 15, 1919. 22. Buck, E. A., The Granger Movement, p. 42. 23. Chicago Tribune, Dec. 7, 1889, p. 5, c. 7; Dec. 8, p. 2. c. 6.

Similar agricultural and labor organizations, such as the Agricultural Wheel, the Alliance South and the Colored Alliance, were formed and increased rapidly in membership. By 1889, the societies began to feel the need for unity, and the result was the formation of a single large organization.

At the first meeting for the unification of these elements at St. Louis, Missouri, December 10, 1889, representatives were present from the Knights of Labor, the Grangers, and other farmer and labor organizations. (23) No steps were taken towards political activity, but the assembled societies drew up resolutions calling themselves the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. (24) On December 6, 1890, a second annual meetin was held at Ocala, Florida this time totake the initial step in the organization of a party. (25) Although no formal action occurred General Davis of Kansas read an unofficial call for a convention to be held at Cincinnati the following May for the formation of a third party. (26)

In Illinois, the movement for unification did not proceed as smoothly. After attempts to form state organizations at Bloomington, (27) and Urbana, (28) a permanent society was perfected at Decatur, November 20, 1889. (29) Editor Periam of the Prairie Farmer of Chicago, who was one of the movement's active supporters, was present at the meetings. December 10, 1890, the second annual meeting was held at Peoria, (30) and December 5th of the year following, the third annual meeting was held which chose delegates for the convention to be held the following February for the People's Party. Illinois farmers entered

24. Ibid. 25. N. Y. Tribune, Dec. 6, 1890 ff. 26. N. Y. Tribune Dec. 6, 1890, p. 5, c. 1. 27. Prairie Farmer, June 15, 1889, p. 337, c. 1. 28. Ibid, Sept. 28, 1889. 29. Ibid. Nov. 16, 1889, p 338 c. 1. 30. Ibid. Dec. 6. 1890, p. 776, c. 3.

an F. M. B. A. ticket in the local districts in 1890, and succeeded in electing three of their candidates to the Illinois legislature. (31) The three succeeded in making a name for themselves, in the election in the year following for United States Senator. After weeks of voting by the legislature in which the election of A. J. Streeter, the F. M. B. A. candidate was almost secured, the farmer legislators finally swung to the support of John M. Palmer, the Democratic nominee, who was accordingly elected. (32) In an account of the Ocala convention, the New York Tribune mentioned one un-named Illinois member as leading the opposition to the official ratification of the call for a third party convention. (33) These scattering facts present fairly well an adequate picture of the party in Illinois; the farmers' organizations were not very strong in the state in 1891.

During the thirty years following the Civil War, there were a small number of people, in Illinois, who for some reason or other were not getting along well with the world. Whether this condition was their fault or the fault of their environment was apparently of little importance. Regardless of the cause of their condition, the fact remained that they were in this state, that they were not prospering, and that they were dis-satisfied with their lot. One party platform declared in 1888 that the farmers were suffering from poverty which forced most of them to mortgage their estates; that their prices were so low that relief was offered only through "bankruptcy and the

31. Sec'y State, Election rep't 1890, H. E. Taubeneck, Clark Co. District 45; Hosea E. Moore, Wayne Co. Dist. 44; Jas. Cockrell, Dist. 43, Marion Co. 32. Illinois State Journal, 1891, p. 97 ff. 33p. Taubeneck voted for Streeter. 33. N. Y. Tribune, Dec. 4, 1891

laborers sinking into greater dependence;" that strikes were resorted to without relief because, of the inability of the employers to pay living wages, "while more and more were driven into the street." (34) Such a statement, although perhaps exaggerating conditions, is an expression of feeling of a certain element of society. Nothing apparently could satisfy them. If they were given the explanation that their poverty was caused by overproduction, they might reply something like this, "If we have overproduction, why, in the name of the Almighty who sends us seed time and harvest, why, we ask, are so many in the world unfed and in destitution." (35) Their condition was the basis for protest, a protest so desperate that they would have been willing to take as a remedy almost anything that would have been offered.

A history of the growth of dissent up to 1891 shows five things of importance to the history of the people's party in Illinois; (1) the problem was deep-seated and enduring; it was due to differences on economic and financial questions; (2) the feeling of dissent after the Civil War was carried on by third parties, and by farmers and labor organizations and was unified in 1889 by the unification of farmer and labor organizations; (3) the third parties from 1870 to 1890 were in reality one movement, as is shown by a continuity of platform principles and leaders; their chief demand was for a larger circulating medium; (4) the feeling of dissent was not popular

33. p. 5, c. 3; the delegate "feared that the adoption of the resolution would confirm the charge sometimes heard that the Farmers' Alliance was a partisan body. 34. The Union Labor platform of 1888, McKee, Nat'l Conventions and platforms, p. 249; Streeter of Illinois was its candidate. 35. Prairie Farmer, October 11, 1890; part of letter from an Illinois farmer.

in Illinois, although there were some who were as zealous for the cause as any in the country and (5) the old wheel-horses, like Norton, Taubeneck, Streeter, Harper, and Campbell, had for many years been prominent in third parties in Illinois.

CHAPTER II. THE FIRST CAMPAIGN

Three difficulties confronted the populists in forming a successful political party: The first, was the organization of the scattered elements of the old third parties and the farmers and labor organizations; the second was the selection of platform principles and leaders, which could most ably represent the reform spirit; the third, was publicity, the problem of making the new party well and favorably known.

Organizations of the new People's Party was effected at Cincinnati in due form May 22, 1891. The convention adopted a platform very similar to that of the previous third party and Farmers' Alliance Platforms. (36) Fourteen hundred eighteen delegates were present, of whom four hundred eleven were from Kansas, three hundred seventeen from Ohio, and but eighty-eight from Illinois. (37) Illinois was represented in the party councils by Taubeneck, Norton, and Streeter, who were also chosen members of the Illinois National Committee. (38) Other Illinoisans who gained prominence at the convention were Moses Hull of Chicago, (39) who spoke to the convention of the needs for a third party and Miss Francis Willard of Chicago, who wanted the convention to adopt a prohibitionist plank. (40)

After the convention was over, the Chicago Inter-Ocean, a Republican newspaper offered some interesting if not instructive criticism of the party. The populists were divided into four groups: "the demagogue who has never held office, but who has

36. See Appendix A. 37. Cincinnati Times-Star, May 20, 1891. 38. Chicago Tribune, May 21, 1891, p. 2. c. 3,4. 39. Cincinnati Times-Star, May 20, 1891. 40. Ibid, May 23, 1891; Gov. St. John of Kansas also waited on the convention for the same purpose

always wanted one; or who is an old serving man out of place, but anxious to get into one; the half-insane dreamer of social and political dreams, who in the vernacular is called a crank; the enthusiast, and the man with a grievance, who believes or fears that neither of the old parties will redress." (41) This quotation, although interesting and caustic, gives an untrue picture of the party, for as will be shown later, there were considerable number of sane and sober populists.

Turning directly to Illinois politics, the first state convention of the People's Party in Illinois was held in Armory Hall, Danville, May 19, 1892. The meeting smacked with the enthusiasm of a newly formed organization. Lester Hubbard, populist state chairman, opened the meeting at ten in the morning, (42) when by actual count there were 160 persons, all told, present." (43) After a few earnest remarks by Rev. Gallagher and Professor A. J. Johnson of Danville, and S. F. Norton of Chicago, the convention recessed, to be opened at two o'clock in the afternoon. (44) In the afternoon the discussion continued, including speeches by Benjamin Terrill of Texas, and Professor Johnson. The latter took Senator Streeter to task for his conciliatory tatics in the Springfield fight with Palmer and Farwell for the United States Senate. Taubeneck replied that Streeter had made no concessions to the Republican steering committee, in so far as he knew, and because of cause of his important connection with the contest, he knew something about it; what had been printed in the newspapers about a com-

41. Chicago Inter-Ocean, May 22, 1891. 42. Danville Weekly Press, May 25, 1892, p. 1, c.1-2. 43. Danville Daily Newz, May 20, 1892, p. 4, c.3-4. 44. Chairman Hubbard introduced Rev. Gallagher of the Danville Christian church, who invoked divine blessing; later he announced Norton temporary chairman and W. E. Robinson of

promise in principle was all false, and was used to create public sentiment. (45) "Senator Streeter," he declared, "stood where he stood for eighteen years, fighting for the people." (46) A second event of importance in the afternoon meeting was the financial report of the party in the state, which showed that of the twenty-four dollars that had been in the treasury, but five dollars was left. (46) In the evening, delegates were chosen for the national nominating convention at Omaha in the following July. (48) and instructions were given to support Nathan M. Barnett for governor, after Taubeneck and several others had refused the nomination. A platform was drawn up which favored equal suffrage, enforcement of school attendance, free text books, use of convict labor for state improvements, and reform in the system of state representation. (50)

Discussions of the convention by Danville and Chicago papers add luster to what might otherwise be a lifeless story. The Chicago Tribune makes the interesting contribution: "In the front seat sat George Allsbury of Sangamon County, who ran against Abraham Lincoln for the legislature nearly forty years ago, and another antiquated member was Col. Jesse Harper of Vermillion one of the pioneers of the reform movements and still carrying the harness." To the people of Danville, the Danville Daily News advised editorially on the day before the convention, "Let them attack the Democratic and the Republican parties with the furious blasts and mark hard words all over the walls of

Greencastle, secretary. 45. Danville Weekly Press, May 25, 1892, p. 1, c. 2. 46. Chicago Tribune, May 20, 1892. 47. Danville Weekly Press, May 25, 1892, p. 1, c. 2. 49. Chicago Tribune, May 20, 1892. 50. Daily News Almanac, 1893, p. 139.

their strong towers with chalk and charcoal; what of it? The rains will wash them off and the old stubborn resolute parties will march on, fight to finish, and the Democrats will be walloped by the Republicans as usual, and in the smoke of the contest, the people's party will be lost sight of." (51) But after the convention was over, and the populists gone, indifference was changed to derision of a rather personal character: "The proceedings of the so-called people's party convention" declared an editorial "are amusing and have the air of a comic farce." In that convention, there were several men worth \$50,000 or \$75,000 or even \$100,000, and few there were that did not show signs of thrift. . . . There were complaints of slavery. This is Captain Varner's declaration, who has to make a congressional canvass in this district, and who is very well off and generous. Then too, Colonel Harper is not the object of pity; he has an excellent home, and to his credit, he loves it. . . He always owns and rents other property. Colonel Harper is as free as flesh and blood can be made by the grace of God and the declaration of Independence. So with the most of them, including our comrade, C. B. Fenton, who has a flourishing business, a good home, a happy family, and all the elements of thrift and comfort." (52)

At the Omaha Convention on July 3, 1892, the name of Seymour F. Norton of Illinois was not presented for president. General James B. Weaver of Iowa was nominated after Judge

Walter Q. Gresham, an Illinois Democrat, refused to run. (53a) 51. Chicago Tribune, May 20, 1892. p. 2. 52. Danville Daily News, May 19, 1892. 53. Danville Daily News, May 19, 1892. 53a. Gresham, Mathilda, Life of W. Q. Gresham; the writer, the wife of Gresham, declared Mr. Gresham was in sympathy with some but not all of the populist principles; Mr. Gresham had written Captain Powers before the Convention that he would not run, Gresham was

The platform, called thereafter the "Second Declaration of Independence" was the most significant work of the meeting. It contained proposals favoring free silver, direct election, government ownership, equal suffrage, the initiative and referendum, (54) and other principles which more nearly represented the needs of the times.

In Illinois, there were some who did not like the nomination of Weaver. The Chicago Post declared that "Wherever there has been a wildcat movement to lead, Weaver had lead it. . . . If the party could have nominated Judge Gresham for a leader, its movement might have taken a serious meaning." (55) It went on to state that "Outside of the Weaver element, which of course is jubilant over the success of their favorite, the feeling among the delegates today as they are scattering for their homes, is not one of enthusiasm over the ticket. This was strikingly manifest last night in the scarcity of cheering when the success of Weaver was announced to the convention." (56) In conclusion it prophesied that the movement would not develop any more strength than did A. J. Streeter in 1888, and declared that the labor unions were especially disappointed in the selection of a "political crank, who for years has been relegated to the rear." (57)

^{53a} secretary of state under Cleveland. 54. See Appendix A; 55. Chicago Post, July 5, 1892, p. 4, c. 2. 56. Chicago Post July 5, 1892, p. 2. c. 3. 57. Ibid.

To this a countercharge was returned by the Farmers' Voice.

"Gresham", it declared, "was the man who upheld the Green Well Fraud, which cost the farmers of the country so much. The men who set their faces against this sort of crooked politics at Omaha deserve the respect of the members of the People's Party, who honestly stand on principle." (58) But irrespective of the truth of either contention, it is evident that the election of Weaver was a victory for the older faction; Weaver was the candidate of the Greenback party in 1880, and was continually associated with the third party movement.

Thus far, we have been concerned with the organization of the populist party, in 1891- and 1892. Next let us consider just what was the general political situation in 1892.

Both Republican and Democratic parties were in a very general way divided into two groups, the conservative and the liberal factions. In the Republican section of Illinois politicians, the conservative element formed the greater part under "Uncle Joe" Cannon of Danville, Judge Gary of Chicago, "Private Joe" Fifer of Bloomington, and Shelby M. Cullom. (59) Among the more liberal Republicans, we find the name of Blaine and McKinley in the national field and Senator Farwell in Illinois. Four years before Cullom was opposed in his political aspirations by "Dick" Oglesby (60) and Judge Gresham. Senator Farwell, as early as 1868

58. Farmers' Voice, July 16, 1892; Editor Periam, had for several years been active with farmer and labor organizations and had associated with many farmers; his statement however is hardly sufficient to indict Gresham of fraud. 59. Cullom, S. M., Fifty years of Public Service; also contemporary newspaper accounts. 60. Chicago Tribune June 19, 1888; in the Senatorial contest in the legislature, Dick Oglesby opposed Cullom for the Senate; in the state convention of 1888 Gresham opposed Cullom for the re-commendation of that body for the vice-presidency.

was proposing radical measures as a Republican; on one occasion he spoke to the senate in favor of coining enough silver to keep it on a par with gold, which the Chicago Tribune referred to as a proposition "that not one in a hundred of his constituents would approve." (61) Even in the Republican party there were some who agreed with the principles of the populists.

But in the Democratic party, the liberal or radical faction had already secured the upper hand. John P. Altgeld, the Democratic candidate for governor, was in most respects, like the populists. A few of his statements follow: "It is now settled that a system of (government) railroad management could be established and would not interfere in politics." (62) Concerning the credit systems of this country he said, "Mr. Goshen, the great ex-chancellor and banker of England was right when he told an association of bankers some years ago that, as the country was already well banked and the credit system of the country could not be much extended, therefore to prevent the shrinkage of values, there should be an annual increase of population; second, increase in territory over which business was done; and third, increase in the general industries of the world." (63) And upon the Democratic political situation, he wrote, in opposition to the President, "It has already assumed the nature of a fight between the friend of the President on the one hand and the Democratic party on the other." (64) Altgeld was as radical as many of the

61. Chicago Tribune, June 21, 1888. The speech also favored the abolition of legal tender notes. 62. Altgeld, J. P. "Live Questions," p. 786. 63. Ibid., p. 213. 64. Ibid., p. 469.

populists. He stood for labor and the right of labor to organize, as shown by the attitude toward the Pullman strikers in 1893; he favored the issuance of more paper money, government ownership of public service corporations, and opposed the interests of monopoly; he urged compulsory education, and because of this received the support of the German republicans. (65) Because of the presence of Altgeld in the Democratic party, and cause of a mutual opposition to protective tariff, (66) the populists and the Democrats found a great deal in common. Both sought the same end, and differed merely in the means of securing this end.

In the populist party, Illinois did not produce a leader who carried the party standard in a national campaign. It does not follow, however, that Illinois did not produce men who were important in the national councils of the party. At least three Illinoisans figured prominently, namely, Colonel Seymour F. Norton, Herman E. Taubeneck, and Alson J. Streeter. (67)

Colonel Norton was a picturesque reformer type. Early in his career he was a member of the Burdan Sharp Shooters, and from this experience he carried the title of "Colonel". Later he took up the study and practice of law in Chicago, where he gained a reputation for polished oratory. His speech on "Ten Men of Money Island" earned for him a reputation far beyond the limits of his party; this address took the form of a parable, from which he concluded that money must be plentiful or suffering would result. He had been affiliated with third party movements since 1876, and

65. Notes, interview with Mrs. Jessie P. Weber, daughter of John M. Palmer, June 20, 1919. 66. Anti-tariff planks were common in third party platforms, See McKee. 67. Notes, interview with J. H. Ferriss, June 15, 1919.

in their interests he had published a daily and weekly called the "Sentinel," at Chicago. He had never been an office-seeker. (68)

Herman E. Taubeneck was probably the best organizer of forces within his party in his state. In 1891, he stood strongly for Streeter for his fight for election to the United States Senatorship, and almost succeeded in securing his election. Taubeneck's power was due, more than anything else to personality and physical stature. He was a large man physically, a farmer, and as a rule was successful in dealing with the farming class. He lived at Marshall, Illinois.

Alson J. Streeter, a third leader, was another farmer. He had been active in third party movements since 1884 and was union labor candidate for president in 1888. (69) His chief assets were his personal appearance and his speaking ability. He was tall and erect, a fine looking man, and because of his rather dignified and independent air, he gave the impression to his audience that he was a solid, common-sense, thinker.

Two other populists cannot be omitted in naming party leaders; these men were Alexander Campbell of Joliet, and "Uncle Jesse" Harper, of Danville. Of Campbell, a biographer wrote, "He was always a Whig until that party was dissolved." (70) He had been a strong abolitionist and was associated with Lincoln before the Civil War. In 1874 he was elected to Congress as a Greenback. "Uncle Jesse" Harper, like Campbell, was past the active stage in

68. See McKee. 69. McKee, National Conventions and Platforms, p. 248. 70. Robson, Chas. Biographical Encyclopedia for Illinois, p. 519.

life by the time of the formation of the people's party.

Alexander Barton, another Danville populist, writes regarding Harper's life, "In 1880, Col. Harper was chosen chairman of the national executive committee of his party.....Four years later, in the People's party convention held at Bloomington, Illinois, Mr. Harper was nominated for governor. Still later, in 1890, the Farmers' Alliance and F. M. B. A. joined with the people's party" in convention in nominating Harper for Congress. (71)

As a writer, Colonel Harper was distinctive. For example, he wrote to the Sentinel, Norton's publication.

"Abolish the debt Mollock."

"Stop modern God-robbing, robbing his children.

William the Conqueror stole England,
His descendants are stealing the world." (72)

"Make a graduated income tax

Beginning above one thousand dollars." (73)

"In the language of Mr. Lincoln, make this a government
of the people by the people and for the people,
The nations must manage all public functions at cost,
in the interest of all the people." (74)

"Behold that hire,

which you have fraudulently withheld from these laborers
Who have worked your field;

Will the loud cries of the reapers,

Have entered the ears of the Lord of armies." (75)

Harper held to many exceptional and revolutionary ideas concerning the position of labor; these ideas he held through many discouraging years.

This combination of men, Norton, Taubeneck, Streeter, Campbell, and Harper were the mainstays of the party in 1892; not

71. Barton, A. C. Life of Harper. p. 289. 72. Ibid, p. 210. 73. Ibid, p. 289. 74. Ibid, p. 292. 75. Ibid. p. 289.

one of them had a national reputation, while many, like the Danville News editor, considered them merely malcontents.

From the viewpoint of Illinois, the populist campaign that followed was waged chiefly on the monetary issue, although other principles were present. The Illinois platform emphasized the monetary issue, and the Farmers' Voice looked to the monetary question as the key to the situation. (76) An attempt was made to unite all farmers, although the Chicago Inter-Ocean, while admitting "a strong bond of sympathy between all farmers", did not agree that a party, based on the bond of sympathy, "could command the general support of farmers." (77) The campaign was aimed to stir the multitudes, and because of its verility,[?] it was severely criticised. For example, the Voice declared, "The principles of the People's Party are of a character to command respect to a very large degree, and they merit a presentation to the people that will command respect; and the hundreds of letters we receive from the rank and file of the party say in unmistakable terms that the rank and file of reformers want less bombastic bluster and more judicious management." (78)

In the fall election, Weaver polled over a million votes, or approximately one-twelfth of the total vote cast in the country. Concerning the result, Weaver wrote Taubeneck that "unaided by money, our grand little party has made an enviable record and achieved surprising success at the polls."^{improbably quote} (79) In Illinois, the farmers and Labor organization were unable to gather together more than twenty-two thousand odd votes, in contrast with the

76. Farmers' Voice, July 9, 1892, p. 8. 77. Chicago Inter-Ocean, July 3, 1892, p. 310. 78. Farmers' Voice, July 9, 1892. 79. Haines F. E., James, B. Weaver, quoting from the Iowa State Register, May 18, 1892., letter of Taubeneck to Weaver.

twenty-six thousand given to the greenback candidate in 1880.

Three factors contributed to this result, (1) the absence of a well-developed economic unrest, (2) the presence of two well-organized political parties, and (3) the presence of Altgeld, the radical Democrat, who was the winning gubernatorial candidate in Illinois. A study of the vote from the various sections is very illuminating upon the strength of the party in the various sections. A summary of the vote follows:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Total Vote 1892</u>	<u>Populist 1892</u>	<u>Percent 1892</u>	<u>Percent 1894</u>
Cook County	262,214	1,614	.6	11.7
Northern Counties	103,796	1,349	1.3	2.7
N. Central Counties	157,419	5,374	2.1	2.6
S. Central Counties	133,165	7,031	5.2	6.8
Southern Counties	<u>119,789</u>	<u>6,739</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total	876,386	22,107	2.5	7.04 (80)

A study of the vote by counties shows several things regarding the party in Illinois: (1) the people's party was not popular in any county or section of the state; the heaviest vote in any county in 1892 was 15.2 percent and the lightest 0.3 percent of the total vote cast. (2) south central and southern Illinois were slightly more favorable to populism than northern Illinois. Illinois not only failed to support the populist national ticket, but not a single local populist aspirant was elected. (81)

During the period from the formation of the party in 1892 at Danville until the close of the campaign of 1892, six things developed regarding the political situation in Illinois:

80. For more detailed study, see Appendix B. 81. See Report, Sec'y of State Election of 1892.

(1) in 1892, the major parties were divided between the conservative and progressive factions; (2) the progressive factions; (2) the progressive or radical element was stronger in Illinois in the Democrat party than in the Republican party; (3) the people's party had more in common with the Democratic party than with the Republican party; Altgeld, the Democratic candidate for governor favored much the same things that the populists favored; (4) a number of the most important leaders of the populist party in 1892 were veterans of previous third parties; (5) Illinois had practically the same numerical strength as the earlier third parties had; and (6) a slightly greater vote was cast for the party in southern than in northern Illinois.

CHAPTER III. POPULISM AND UNREST

Between the years 1892 and 1894, a significant change was taking place in the industrial life in Illinois. A feeling of discontent which had much in common with the populists especially in the more populous sections.

There is limited evidence which shows that in 1892, Illinois was not suffering severely from economic troubles. But 266 business failures were reported for that year, and most of these were in mercantile and commercial enterprises, rather than in manufacturing establishments. (82) The American Artisan reported fully 130,000 out of employment in Chicago in 1892, (83) a condition which would have been favorable to a dissenting party. If the Artisan's statement was correct, its failure to arouse dissent may be accounted for by the fact that this distress had not existed long enough to have any noticable effect on the voting strength of the radical party. (84) Among the farmers, there was no great reason why a revolt should arise against existing conditions. Crops for the two preceding years had not been bad as they had been in Kansas and the other populist states; (85) the prices in Illinois were low but the crops were good.

Between 1892 and 1894, discontent developed especially among the laboring classes. Strikes and lockouts were beginning early in 1893; (86) but before long the people were not content

82. Report of R. G. Dun and Co. in Financial Review for 1894, p. 18, 83. American Artisan, May 7, 1892, p. 8-9, 84. Bogard, and Mathews, Centennial History of Illinois, v. 5, ch. 8. p. 156. 85. Statistical Report for Illinois Board of Agriculture, Aug. 1, 1915, p. 4; Farmers' Bulletin, 1894. 86. Hourich, Review of Revs. v. 10. p. 59.

to give themselves over to passive resistance. Two large industrial movements started in Illinois and gained national prominence; these were first the Randall Army, a division of the Coxey army which took the road to Washington to protest against the way workers were being treated; and the second the Pullman car strike for higher wages in Chicago. Coxey himself a populist and because of this, it was sometimes considered that his armies also had populist tendencies, but this was disproven by an article by Professor Hourwich in the Review of Reviews, which gave facts concerning the army as it left Chicago. Of the 194 of the army that were questioned, eighty-eight were Democrats, thirty-nine were Republicans, ten were populists, twenty-five did not vote, and twenty-eight were not naturalized. Other facts were given to show that this motley organization included more industrials than farmers. The Kelly division of Coxey's army started on the coast and passed through souther Illinois, but without gathering many followers from the state. (86)

The Pullman Car strike was a manifestation of labor unrest. During this affair, Governor Altgeld gathered friends among the labor classes by refusing to call state troops to the scene of the strike. When President Cleveland sent troops to the scene, he was criticised by the populists, among them Senator William A. Pfeffer of Kansas, who introduced a resolution into the U. S. Senate calling for an investigation of the affair. (87) It was afterward almost conclusively proved, as Governor Altgeld had contended, that the Pullman Car Company was using almost every

87. Congressional Record v. p. 88. Beard, C. A. Contemporary Am. History, p. 169.

force to secure federal intervention in order to intimidate the strikers. (88) It is an interesting fact that Debs, who was indicted for contempt of court for disobeying the court injunction regarding striking, employed Clarence Darrow, populist, who in turn employed Lyman Trumbull, a Chicago populist, to plead his case before the United States Supreme Court. (89) For this service Trumbull refused to take any money except enough to cover his expenses.

Concerning the condition of the farmers, Senator Palmer of Illinois makes an interesting contribution. "I have heard," said Mr. Palmer before the United States Senate, "so much on this floor about the poverty of the farmers and the poverty of the west; will the Senator allow me to say that I am profoundly disgusted with it? We have no such condition in Illinois. The price of wheat is low, I suppose nobody wants it. . . . But we are not beggars. We do not want a depreciated currency to pay our debts in. We are independent people." To which Senator Allen of Nebraska, a populist replied, "I am glad to hear it." (91) Comparing farming in Illinois with western states, Senator W. A. Pfeffer, who came from where the populists are thickest, said, "My constituents are selling wheat at from 25 to forty cents a bushel, corn at no more than the cost to produce it, horses at one-fourth their value." (92)

In 1892, the populist party polled by 22,107 votes in Illinois; in 1894, with discontent a general thing and especially manifested in Illinois, it was probable that discontent would be shown in increased strength in the populist party. But even a

89. White, Horace, Life of Lyman Trumbull, p. 414. 90. Ibid.

91. Congressional Record, v. 25, p. 893, part 2, p. 36. 92. Ibid vol. 25, p. 893.

more radical wing had developed in Illinois and when the populists had gathered in Springfield for their state convention, in 1894, there was considerable difficulty in pacifying a socialist element.

Representatives of numerous trades and political organizations were present when the convention opened at the state-house at Springfield, at two o'clock, May 28, 1894. About two hundred populists were present. (93) C. E. Palmer of Noble, Richmond Cojnty was elected permanent chairman and J. E. Ogden of Chicago, Secretary. The chief speech of the meeting was made by "Tommy" Morgan, the Chicago labor leader, Dr. H. S. Taylor of Chicago and Wm. Hess of Milton. "Each speech," reported the Illinois State Register, "was on the line with the path blazed by Col. Harper, and each speaker valiantly hewed to the mark, letting each chip care for itself, and as the motto of the order or party plainly said, "Keep off the grass." (94) That evening, a populist meeting of one thousand was called to order, S. P. V. Arnold of Springfield, Sangamon County, presiding. (95) Mr. Arnold first spoke to the audience, explaining that the meeting gathered "not as a part of the people's party convention or the state labor conference," which was being held at the time in Springfield, "but as and independent mass meeting for the purpose of listening to the doctrines of the people's party, as expounded by some of the leading populist orators of the country." (96) Paul Norton, president of the White Bread Company of Chicago, and P. H. Penna, vice-president of the National Party organization also spoke, and at 10:30 the conference adjourned.

93. Illinois State Register, May 29, 1894. 94. Ibid. 95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.

Real excitement did not begin until the second day of the convention when certain matters of business came before the party. After the meeting was formally opened, Tommy Morgan of Chicago arose and proposed resolutions known throughout the country as "Plank Ten", favoring collective ownership of all means of production and distribution. The convention in an instant became an uproar. Morgan's following and the old, stand-pat populists were on their feet for a fight and there were present all the elements necessary for a real struggle. Without much hesitation, Tommy was dubbed a Socialist. Taubeneck, who had had considerable experience with previous party conventions, succeeded in drowning out the noise of the convention. "If this is what you came to the People's Party for", he shouted, "we don't want you," and he proceeded to tell Morgan that if he didn't like the way the People's Party was being run, and the things it stood for, he could go home. (97). The socialistic plank was omitted only against the vigorous protest of the Chicago delegation. The platform adopted affirmed (1) that Illinois populists would remain loyal to the provisions of the "Second Declaration of Independence," the Omaha platform, (2) that "complicity of. . . .government with money mongers" was wrong (3) that settlement of personal wrong, meaning labor difficulties, "should be by ballot rather than by bullet." (4) that the general assembly should use its control over corporations and employers, (5) that the license system of dealing with the liquor traffic was "one of the most corrupt monopolies"; that "sale should be conducted as a matter of police regulation without profit." (6) that unless mortgages receive the assessor's stamp

one-half of their value should go to the state; (7) that women are entitled to equal pay for the same work, and should have equal suffrage with men, and (8) that is the party endorsed the Federation of Labor platform of December, 1893. (98) A state ticket was chosen for the fall elections, with John F. Randolph as the populist candidate for treasurer at the head. (99) Party tickets were put in the field in almost every district in the state. H. E. Taubeneck of Marshall, Illinois, Eugene Smith of Chicago, and J. D. Hess of Pittsfield, Illinois, (100) were chosen to compose the Illinois National committee during the summer.

In the Democratic party, there was indication of a break from the leadership of Cleveland, in favor of the liberal administration of Governor Altgeld. Congressman Fithian of the new 19th District said in his speech to a convention representing the Democrats of Coles, Edgar, Clark, Effingham, Cumberland, Jasper, Crawford, Richland, and Lawrence counties, declared that the "Democratic party must cut loose from the Eastern candidates and Eastern politics if it expects national victory. We must have Western men and Western ideas." (101) Concerning this meeting, the Chicago Tribune editorially stated that "the Democrats of his ("Fithian's") district are Democrats only in name. They are free coinage populists and graduated income tax populists and socialists (102)

In the populist ranks, an impetus was given to the party through the addition of Lyman Trumbull, who, as in his abolitionist days, heralded the cause of the common and lower classes. In

98. Chicago Daily News Almanac, 1895, p. 208. 99. Lorena E Hibbs, state supt. pub. inst; J. C. Tanquary, T. B. Rinehart, and R. M. Gilbert, trustees of U. Of Illinois composed the state ticket. 100. News Almanac 1895. p. 208. 102. Chicago Tribune, April 30, 1894, p. 6, c. 5. 102. Chicago Tribune, April 30, 1894. p. 6 c. 5

an address before a populist meeting in Chicago, Trumbull said,

"Lest the millionaire should listen, I should say to the middle classes of moderate means, farmers and others, though they may not now, soon will, feel the position of the money power, and arouse to the danger that threatens soon to place you fully at the mercy of corporate and individual wealth, as the toiling laborers are today. I say to the laborers, now robbed of the just reward of their labor and even compelled in this land of plenty and abundance to suffer hunger and cold, "Lay aside all manner of bickerings or disputes about minor affairs, and assert your independence by going to the polls, uninfluenced by money or those in authority, and cast a freeman's vote for representatives in Congress and general assembly who will be true to your interests, and secure the enactment of such laws as will permit you to share in the wealth created by your toil, to eat of the bread your hands have earned." (103)

"Neither strikes of the laboring classes which array against them the money power and the governmental control of the great railroads, and other corporations, will remove the existing conflict between capital and labor. . . What is needed is the removal of the cause which permits the accumulation of wealth in a few hands." (104)

More direct evidence of the friendship of the laboring classes is shown by the statement of Samuel Gompers of the American federation of labor, which spoke of Weaver's sturdiness in advocating reform in the interests of labor and the masses generally. (105)

Concerning the possible success of the new party in 1894, the Farmers' Voice and the Chicago Times united in predicting a good populist vote. The Voice, published at Chicago, in its issue of September 8th, 1894, declared, "Newspapers that can find no better use of their space than to employ it for the abuse of Governor Altgeld for his humane course, have no more excuse for

103. Address of Lyman Trumbull at Populist Convention, Chicago, Oct. 6, 1894. (pamphlet) 104. Chicago Times, October 7, 1894, p. 2, c. 2. 105. Haynes, F. E., James B. Weaver, quoting letter from Gompers to Weaver Sept. 28, 1894.

existence than Pullman himself." (106) Again it stated, there is a constantly growing belief that our government should own and operate railroads. The time for ridiculing the proposition as the product of a cranky brain is past." (107) Again, "It is rather amusing to observe the partisan papers just opening their eyes to the fact that there is a large and threatening third party in this country." (108) Again concerning Illinois, the Voice declared, " the People's party has nominated a good clean ticket, which it need not be afraid to compare with the other tickets. The candidates are capable men, and will make a good showing on election day." (109)

More surprising than this statement of friendship is the attitude of the Chicago Times. In an editorial comment on a meeting of the party, it stated, "The Times expects that the one great surprise to hide-bound politicians in the returns of next November, will be the showing made by that young giant of politics, the people's party." (110) But even more striking is the attitude which this paper took towards the older parties, when it stated, "Unhappily, the Democratic party and the glorious record of that party has drifted away from its true moorings. It has left a place which must be filled---the place of the party of the people, the party which stands for equal rights to all and special privileges to none, the party which will fight the concentration of wealth." (111) The populist party was making successful inroads on the older newspapers, a fact which threatened to change

106. Farmers' Voice, Sept. 8, 1894, p. 8, c. 3. 107. Ibid, Aug. 18 1894, p. 8, c. 3. 109 Ibid., c. 4. 110. Chicago Times, October 7, 1894. 111. Ibid. Oct. 5, 1894.

politics in both state and nation.

The populists were taking ground of a general protest against the older parties. "Congress," said Taubeneck, who was managing the campaign in Illinois, "has shamefully disappointed the country," and he went on to say, "Distress and diaster confront us on every hand. Every prediction we made in the Omaha convention of 1892 has been fulfilled. The Coxey army movement is simply the outgrowth of all the evil legislation saddled upon the people in the past thirty years. The only cure for the existing evil is the removal of the iniquitous cause. The country today is suffering for the want of money." (112) contrasting this with the liberal labor appeal of Lyman Trumbull, it is evident that there was considerable difference between Illinois populists on just how to secure a remedy for the economic evils of the country. Some wanted freedom of action for labor; others wanted a larger circulating medium.- Just what were their issues is not clear. They were united chiefly in a distrust of the older parties. (113)

But the show of populist strength before the election did not produce the expected excellent showing. The Republicans easily carried the state, and the Populists ran a very poor third. In the entire state, but sixty thousand sixty-five votes were cast for John Randolph, populist candidate for state treasurer, the highest office to be filled. This figure appears very small when compared with the total vote of 859,608. The Review of Reviews states, in an account of the result in Illinois, "The Republican

112. Chicago Tribune, May 31, 1894, p. 5, c. 4. 113. Official vote, State of Illinois, General Election, Nov. 7, 1894.

majority was very large. The populist vote in the country did not assume the expected proportions; some impetus had been given to the populist cause in the state by the recent accession of that pioneer republican, Lyman Trumbull, but the party at large made slight gains. The A. P. A. issue did not materially affect the voting, it appears." (114)

By comparing the vote with that received in the election of 1892, the result was encouraging to the populists. Nearly three times as many populist votes were cast as in previous elections. The vote in the state by sections was as follows:

<u>Section</u>	<u>Total Vote 1894</u>	<u>Populist 1894</u>	<u>Percent 1892</u>	<u>Percent 1894</u>
Cook County	291,403	33,966	.6	11.7
Northern Counties	92,904	2,539	1.3	2.7
N. Central "	232,851	5,965	2.1	2.6
S. Central "	133,190	6,225	5.2	6.9
Southern "	<u>112,866</u>	<u>7,851</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total	873,426	60,066	2.7	7.04

(115)

The above table shows three things regarding the strength of the party. First The Populist party was not strong in any section of the state; second, the party was stronger in the southern downstate sections than in the northern downstate sections; third, between 1892 and 1894, the party increased considerably in Chicago. But like the election of 1892, no populists were elected to local or state offices. (116) The party had gone through two campaigns but as yet had not succeeded in electing a single candidate.

Events of importance to the people's party during the period between 1892 and 1894 may be put under six heads. (1) Industrial discontent was apparent in Illinois between these years as is shown by the presence of the Pullman car strike and the Randall job-hunter army. (2) Agricultural discontent was not of

outstanding importance during the period. (3) Populism was strengthened in 1894 by labor sympathisers such as Lyman Trumbull; a socialist faction from Chicago was present at the state convention at Springfield. (4) During the Campaign, the party received the encouragement of the Chicago Post and the Farmers' Voice of Chicago; prospects were good that the party would make a good showing; (5) the result of the election differed from 1892 merely in giving the populists a larger vote in Chicago and Cook County (6) As in 1892, the party was stronger in southern than in northern downstate sections.

116. General Election of 1894. 117 Bogart & Mathews, Centennial History of Illinois.

CHAPTER IV. FUSION.

Fusion was one of the greatest enemies of the People's party from the time of its formation until the final disruption in 1912. In the beginning, there were forces within the farmers' and laborers' organizations which opposed the new party; and later a faction developed within the party which believed the undertaking useless. Between 1892 and 1896 changes were taking place in the Democratic party in the country which greatly changed the future of the Populist party; a group with populist ideas was developing strength under Bryan and others which later took control of the platform and leadership of the Democratic party. Horace White, in his life of Lyman Trumbull, mentioned an interview between Bryan, Trumbull and himself in which the three discussed the hopes for the adoption of free coinage of silver by the national government. (119) During the same period, there was little evidence of change within the populist party, although the elections of the spring of 1895 did not result as favorably in Chicago as did the election in the fall before. (120)

The event which finally changed the position of the populists was the adoption ^{by} of the Democratic national convention of the principles upon which most of the populists agreed, notably the free coinage of silver. The Republican party had met at St. Louis, June 15th, 1896, (121) and had nominated McKinley for president and Garret A. Hobart for vice-president. Although it was understood at the time that McKinley was an advocate of bimet-

119. White, Life of Trumbull, p. 413. 120. Bogart and Mathews, Centennial History of Illinois, v. 5, p. 121. Daily News Almanac 16 P. 475

alism, the party adopted a resolution straddling the free silver issue and laid their plans for making the campaign of the tariff issue. (122)

Accounts of the Democratic convention which met at Chicago, July 7, are still a matter of common knowledge. It is well remembered how the issue was still in doubt until Bryan's famous Cross of Gold Speech, and how the Free Silver Plank accordingly adopted. As to the importance of the populists in the convention, J. H. Ferriss of Joliet, makes an interesting statement,

"In numbers the populists reached their highest point ten minutes before William J. Bryan commenced talking to the Convention in 1896. At that hour, they possessed something over two thousand newspapers--enthusiasm and patriotic fervor stood at the highest notch; ; ; With our news manager I attended the convention, sat in the reporter's gallery, and had a near view of this turn of the tide in the affairs of the populist party. . . As was shown later, this convention was practically a Populist affair. Many of our Club members were delegates to the convention and from my acquaintance with populists in my own state, and in Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Alabama, Tennessee, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Kansas. I estimated that fully two-thirds of the so-called soft money or greenback delegates were our own populists. The hard money delegates I found held something of the same opinion. . While the uproar following the Bryan speech was holding the floor, I made a visit to one of my populist friends of Oklahoma City. On my way I passed David B. Hill, the hard money candidate and Flower, one of their famous New York leaders. Flower, shaking his finger, proceeded from one delegation to another and was plainly giving them a piece of his mind. One of the group who had received the brunt of the attack said as he watched Flower scolding another group, "He told me we were all populists". They smiled widely as Bryan smiles himself but none offered denial." (123)

At the St. Louis meeting of the populists, July 22, (1220) following, it was decided not to run an opponent to Bryan, although this action was strenuously opposed by the Middle-of-the-Roaders.

Seymour Stedman, (125) socialist candidate for vice president in 122. Beard, C. A. Contemporary American History. p. 167. 123. Letter from J. H. Ferriss, July 6, 1920. 124. McKee, National Conventions & Platforms, p. 314. 125. Letter from Seymour Stedman,

1920, and J. H. Ferriss, (126) were Middle-of-the-Road delegates to this convention. Bryan was nominated by the fusionists, although a considerable vote was cast in favor of Colonel S. F. Norton of Chicago for president. (127)

With affairs in this state, the populists held their Illinois convention at Springfield, August 12th. (128) There were early indications of opposition to the action of the national convention in supporting Bryan. Those who favored fusion were called "Popocrats." The Illinois State Register, a Democratic newspaper, looked with favor upon the meeting. It observed "the noticeable feature of the convention was the absence of the 'old timer' and in his stead there was the younger element. Few there were out of the 600 delegates present that had seen fifty-five years. The delegates present were young and hardy-looking men." (129) Initial hostilities between various factions of the convention arose over the seating of the two Chicago delegations. One division under the leadership of Tommy Morgan and Dr. Taylor was particularly opposed to accepting the recommendation of the national populist convention concerning the nomination of Bryan for president on the Populist ticket. A heated argument ensued following the committee's report favoring the seating of the Taylor delegation and the exclusion of the Burns delegation. (130) But there were not many of the middle of the roaders on hand. The committee's report carried and the fusion faction was seated. Temporary organization consisted of Charles E. Palmer, Richland,

125. June 19, 1920. 126. Letter from Ferriss, July 6, 1920.

127. McKee National Conventions and Platforms p. . 128. Illinois State Register, August 13, 1896. 129. Ibid. 130. Ibid.

temporary chairman and E. G. Blood of Mt. Vernon, temporary secretary. The convention was subsequently addressed by Palmer on fusion, a subject which was certain to bring up argument with the middle of the roaders. The State Register stated, "THE fusion with the democratic state committee produced a long argument. . . The determination to accept what was offered them by the Democrats was made evident in almost every speech mentioned." (131) The platform adopted favored (1) free coinage of silver, (2) abolition of national banks, (2) local option in taxation, (4) amendment to give the state legislatures the right to regulate contracts between employers and employees, (5) initiative and referendum in state questions and included (6) a statement that "the administration of Governor Altgeld deserves unstinted praise." (132)

On September 15, the anti-fusionists or Middle of the Roaders met at Chicago and put a state ticket, with the exception of a gubernatorial candidate into the field. (132) A resolution was adopted stating "we do most heartily endorse the wisdom of the national convention in nominating Thomas E. Watson." (133) The strength of this section was composed of those who had little faith in politics and politicians and believed that the old parties would make good their promises to "swallow up" the populist platform, that fusion, especially at the time of the presidential election would break down the prestige the little party had gained in the few years of its existence. (134)

The campaign of 1896 was hot and hard fought. Following the struggle over the meeting of the Taylor delegation at

132. Appleton's encyclopedia, 1896, p. 550. 133. Ibid. 134. Letter of James H. Ferriss, July 6, 1920.

Springfield, the Burns faction returned to Chicago but not with very good memories of **their** treatment. The following quotations from the Chicago Tribune are indicative of their protest in the affair: "Intense dissatisfaction" wrote F. C. Schulte in the letter to A. L. Maxwell, Chairman of the Illinois Central Committee "exists here over the result of the convention which met pursuant to your call at Springfield on August 12th, instant, and the prevailing sentiment of the populists of Cook County is that the Convention was neither legal nor representative. (135)

The opposition of the Chicago faction was also characteristic of the local conventions which followed throughout the state. To illustrate, in a convention at Rockford, Illinois, August 5th, it was reported, "The populists held two conventions here today, congressional and senatorial. After a hot fight, they put up a state ticket. . . .W. M. Snyder of Carroll County was nominated for Congress, Henry King of Ogle County for member of the state board of equalization, and John Budlong of Rockford for minority representative in the legislature. The matter of withdrawing any name was left to the discretion of the committee." (136)

Again, at a meeting of populists held at Marshall, Illinois, August 15, it was reported "the populists held two conventions here today," to name a county ticket," (137) A resolution was offered to commit the party to fusion with the popocrats, whereupon Henry Lewis and other prominent Middle of the roaders belted. A. L. Maxwell spoke to a large audience, but all but about twenty-five

135. Chicago Tribune, August 21, 1896. p. 5, c. 4. 136. Chicago Tribune, August 16, 1896, p. 2. 137. Ibid.

persons left the hall " prior to H. E. Taubeneck's speech." (138)

Taubeneck managed the populist campaign in the state. Charles E. Palmer was left in charge at the state headquarters at Springfield while Taubeneck was stumping the state during the campaign. (139) After considerable maneuvering in which the popo-crats demanded representation on the democratic ticket, the popu-lists secured one place on the Democratic ticket, and two places among the Democratic state electors. This agreement was concluded only after much deliberation in which representatives of populists took up the matter with the national organization of the Democratic party. Important in these negotiations was the well-known "bed-chamber interview" between the Illinois populists and Bryan, called the bedchamber interview because the populist representatives were ushered into the bedchamber of the eloquent Nebraskan after mid-night, following a speech in an Illinois town. (140) As a result, of the interview, A. L. Maxwell, populist, became candidate for Auditor on the Democratic ticket.

Free-silver, above everything else, was the issue of the campaign. Farmers, laboring men, and business men could be seen and heard on the street corners discussing national politics, regardless of whether their arguments were based on study, reading of partisan newspapers, or the sayings of some free silver or gold standard orator. The old parties were shaken to their base. One Democratic newspaper takes note of a change in the line-up among the Republicans: From Kilburne, Illinois, came the statement,

138. Ibid. 139. Daily Illinois State Register, August 20, 1896.

140. Notes, Interview with J. H. Ferriss, June 15, 1919.

"The free silver cause is booming in this (Macon) County. Three of the republican central committee have resigned. Silver clubs are being organized. There will be large gains to Bryan and Sewall from the Republicans." (141) From Fairmount, August 11, came the report, "A Bryan and Sewall club will be organized here tomorrow night. One hundred and nineteen names were secured during the past week for membership in the club and thirty-two republicans have joined without hesitation and they are as enthusiastic as the Democrats." (142) From Clinton, Illinois, August 24th, came the report, "The Bryan-Sewall Free-Silver Club met here on Monday night and elected officers... The meeting was addressed by Professor Coultis and Charles Conwell, both life-long republicans. A glee club of six was formed of which four have always been republicans. The secretary of the club is authority for the statement that there are fifty republicans on the roll." (143) The same condition was present among the Democrats. One factor which contributed to the lack of unity within the Democratic party in the state was the Gold-Democratic Party, headed by General Palmer of Illinois, which sought its support from democrats opposed to free coinage of silver.

The election resulted in favor of the Republicans in Illinois and in the country, in spite of the populist addition to the Democratic party. The popular vote stood Republican

141. Illinois State Register, August 11, 1896. 142. Ibid, August 20, 1896. 143. Ibid, August 15, 1896.

607,130; Democratic and People's 464,523; Socialist-labor, 1,147; Prohibition, 9 796; Middle-of-the-Roaders, 1,090; Independent-Democrat, 6,390. (144) In this election, Nathaniel S. Dresser of Bond County was chosen on the populist ticket for the office of state Senator, and at the same time, Nathaniel D. Bryant of Gallatin County was chosen in the 44th District and Fred G. Blood was chosen in the 46th District. (145) These elections were made possible by the fusion of the Democrats and the populists.

The record of the populists in the legislature was not brilliant, and they seem not to have been in great favor in the legislature although it should be remembered that they were working alone. (146)

144. Report, Election of 1892, Sec'y of State. 145. Report, Sec'y of State, Election of 1892. 146. In the Senate, Mr. Dresser who was elected in 1896 was not an outstanding character, He was chairman of the committee on Federal Relations and member of other committees. He presented a bill to standardize the analysis of milk which gave way to a similar House Bill, and a bill to strike the word male from the constitution. Neither of these passed. In support of these bills he presented several petitions from his constituents in Bond County. In the house, Mr. Bryant presented eight bills; House Bill 135 providing "to amend section 15 of an act entitled 'an act to revise the law in relation to paupers,'" which was tabled; House Bill 136 providing that "banks shall give security for deposits," which did not get a first reading; House Bill 193 to amend an act in relation to domestic animals running at large in the state of Illinois" which did not get a second reading; House Bill 320, "an act to increase the efficiency of our public schools," which was tabled; House Bill 348, "an act to provide for paupers in each township," which did not get a second reading; House Bill 349, "an act to regulate express charges, which did not get a second reading; House Bill 467, "an act to amend the laws in relation to interest," which did not get out of the committee room. Mr. Blood proposed House Bill 188, to amend "an act concerning voluntary assignments and conferring jurisdiction therein upon county courts," which was tabled; House Bill 189, to amend "an act in regard to attachments in courts of record," which did not receive a third reading; House Bill 407, to amend "an act requiring compensation for causing death by wrongful act, neglect or default," which did not get out of the committee room; House Bill 584, to amend "an act to enable associations of persons to become a body corporate to raise funds to be loaned only among the members of such associations" which was tabled; and House Bill 505, to paint and repair the Supreme Court

Bills were presented such as providing a standard milk analysis, and striking the word "male" from the constitution. The chief action of the three was when Mr. Blood nominated John A. Altgeld, Democrat for the United States Senate. (147)

Conditions within the populist party remained practically the same from 1896 to 1904, and as a result, the party lost strength in every part of the country. No union could be effected between the Middle of the Roaders and the Populists, and the two organizations continued although in Illinois the vote registered by both parties were small. (148) The fusion element always fed the Middle of the Roaders in the voting. In 1896, 7893 votes were cast for the populist ticket; in 1900, 1140; in 1902, 1502; in 1904, 6725. (149) State tickets were put into the field in these years, but no active campaign was made.

Union between the various factions of the party was not effected until 1904. In 1900, the Middle-of-the-Roaders met at Cincinnati, Ohio, May 9th, and 10th, and chose Wharton Barker and Ignatius Donnelly to head their ticket; (150) the fusion wing met at Sioux Falls and chose Bryan and Adlai Stephenson, the Democratic candidates for President and Vice-president. (151) In 1904, a union was effected between the two factions, and the campaign was conducted from Joliet under the leadership of Ferriss. The national convention that of the party was held at Springfield, July 4, 1904. By this time the struggles that had been so

146 Building at Mt. Vernon," which was passed. Mr. Blood also nominated John P. Altgeld for United States Senator. For reference to above see Illinois Senate and House Journal, index. 147. Ibid. 148. Sec'y of State, Report on election of 1898, 1900. 149. Illinois Blue Books for corresponding years. 150. Chicago Daily News Almanac, 1916, p. 475. 151. Ibid.

characteristic of the early conventions were no longer possible. Only two hundred were present of the nine-hundred twenty-seven delegates that had been allotted to the various states. (152)

L. R. Mallotte of Texas was made permanent chairman upon report of the nominating committee. Decision in the selection of the national ticket was delayed by the Kansas delegation which was under orders from their state convention to defer action "until the Democratic convention at St. Louis had acted." The wishes of the Kansas delegation were over-ridden and Thomas R. Watson of Georgia was chosen to head the National People's ticket. (153) National organization was headed by James H. Ferriss, Joliet, Illinois; and C. Q. DeFrance, of Nebraska, Secretary. At Joliet, Illinois, Ferriss and DeFrance, in addition to administrative duties of the campaign conducted the weekly "Saturday Review", which served as a campaign organ during the campaign. (154) The Illinois National committee consisted of Joseph Hopp of Chicago, A. C. Vantine of Flora, Illinois and Col. J. S. Felter of Springfield. Previous to adjournment, talks were made by Co. Felter, and L. R. Tyler, publisher of the Keen Kutter of St. Louis. The State Register said, "Col. Felter's address was the chief feature and held the entire attention of the convention". (155) The convention did not meet with all the pleasantness and encouragement from some from the state. A. C. Barton, the biographer of Jesse Harper, who had been in Springfield for several weeks as a member of the state central

152. Illinois State Register, July 5, 1904. 153. Illinois State Register, July 5, 1904. 154. Copies of Review in possession of Mr. Ferriss. 155. Illinois State Register, July 5, 1904.

committee, was somewhat disgusted with the program of the convention and announced that he washed his hands of the affair. (156)

The campaign that year was much like the preceding. The populist problem was to "get back" their former strength, and to do this, they had to combat the influence of the old parties. Candidate Watson said in a speech before a body of Chicago workmen September 27, 1904, "Friend laborers, what have you gained by fusing with the older parties? Please show me one thing that they did after election that they promised to do if you gave them your votes." (157) Election returns gave the populists only a few more votes in the state that year than four years before. (158)

In 1908, the party again chose national candidates. Preliminary meeting was held at St. Louis, November 27, 1907, (159) for the purpose of making arrangements for the campaign of 1908. From Illinois were present at the meeting, James H. Ferriss, Philip Roessler and J. J. York. April 2, 1908, the national convention of the party was held at St. Louis, at which Watson was again chosen to head the national ticket.

In 1912, the party went out of existence. A preliminary meeting was held but nothing further was accomplished. The Illinois populist vote during the last period of decline was: 1906, no ticket in state; in 1908, 633, in 1910, no ticket in state. (160)

Two factors entered into this gradual decline of the party; First the purpose was accomplished by the passage in 1900

156. Ibid. 157. Saturday Review, Joliet, Illinois, October 22, 1904. 158. Secretary of State, Report on Election of 1904. 159. St. Louis Republican, November 23, 1907. 160. Secretary of State Election reports for corresponding years.

of a bill which greatly increased the circulating medium in Illinois; this was the Bill of March 14, 1900. By its provisions, the circulating medium in Illinois was increased from seven million to over thirteen million dollars, and in the United States at an even greater proportion. (161) The chief cry of the populists up to 1900 had been for more money, although as previously stated, there were a number of other planks. The second factor in the decline was the fact that the old parties had monopolized the populist issues. The following is a table showing what became of populist planks:

	<u>Taken by Bryan.</u>	<u>Taken by Progressives</u>
Government Supervision of Industrial Conditions		x
Parcel Post		x
Pensions	x	x
Reform in Method of issuing Currency	x	
Right of trial by jury in labor disputes.	x	x
Prohibition Child Labor		x
<u>Principle of Populists</u>	<u>Taken by Bryan</u>	<u>Taken by Progressives</u>
Eight hour work day		x
Postal Savings Banks	Adopted by Congress	
Election President by popular vote	x	x
Initiative and Referendum		x
Election Senators by popular vote	Adopted by Const. Amendment.	
Free Coinage Silver at 16 to 1	x	
Abolition National Banks		x (162)

161. Bankers' Magazine, 64: 653. 162. McKee, T. H., National Conventions and political parties, p. 419, 311; Chicago Daily News Almanac, 1913, p. 143.

After the important principles of the populists had been either adopted by the nation, or taken over by the other parties, there was little use for the party and it went out of existence.

After 1894, there is not much evidence indicating numerical strength within the people's party in Illinois. Five facts of importance to the party may be noted for the period. (1) From 1892 to 1896, the Democratic party, led in Illinois by Altgeld, was gradually taking over the populist principle of free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. (2) In the campaign of 1896, the populist party was divided; two tickets were put into the field, one democratic fusion ticket and one middle of the road ticket. (3) Between 1896 and 1904, the populists continued to be divided, and continued to have two sets of candidates for offices; neither made a good showing in Illinois or the country at large although the fusion element continued to include the larger number. (4) From 1896 until the final disruption of the party, the populists did not receive over seven thousand votes at any one time in the state; the fusion of the two elements of the party which was brought about in 1904, did not materially affect the voting strength. (5) Two factors contributed to this decline; The most important of the populists principles had either been adopted or taken over by the major parties.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION.

The People's Party was an organization of farming and laboring classes which was formed in 1891 and went out of existence in 1912. It proposed to offer better conditions for the farmer and laborer, and to this end proposed a comprehensive program for reform. The party was never very strong in Illinois but was at times very closely related to the older parties.

The People's party shows a relationship to third party movements after the Civil War because of the similarity of platform and leadership. The chief plank was the monetary issue; each party favored an increase in the circulating medium of the country. Leadership was made continuous by the presence within the party in Illinois of such men as Taubeneck, Campbell, Streeter, Horton and Harper.

Organization of the new party was made possible by the unification of farmers' and laborers' organizations. Populism in Illinois did not get under way until May, 1892 when a meeting was called at Danville to make preparations for the campaign of that year. The following election did not result favorably to the populists in Illinois. But twenty-two thousand votes were cast for new party, as compared with twenty-seven thousand cast for the Greenback party in 1880. A study of election returns shows a slightly greater strength in southern than in northern Illinois.

Between 1892 and 1894 events were happening which threatened to develop a strong dissent movement. The Pullman Car strike and the Randall and Coxey army were vigorous manifestations of dissent within Illinois, which coupled with the friendliness of such papers as the Chicago Times and the Farmers' Voice, made the

third party look strong in the state. But in spite of these indications, the roots of the old parties were too deep, and but sixty thousand votes were given to the populists in 1894. A study of election returns shows a considerable increase for the party in Chicago.

Between 1894 and 1896 the free silver element grew within the democratic party to such an extent that free silver was adopted in the national platform in 1896. The free silver movement was led in Illinois by John P. Altgeld, Democratic governor of the state, who had practically the same program for reform as did the populists. In 1896, the populists were divided on the question of fusion with the democrats; part voted with the Democrats on a fusion ticket, and part supported a separate Middle of the Road ticket.

After 1896, the populists were never strong either in Illinois or in the country at large. Two populist parties were in existence in Illinois between 1896 and 1904. The fusionists were stronger than the middle of the roaders, although neither polled over seven thousand votes. In 1904, the national convention was held at Springfield, and the national campaign was managed by Ferriss of Joliet, but only a few thousand more votes were cast for the party in the state.

Two factors contributed to the decline of the people's party in Illinois. First the purpose of the populists was accomplished in part by the passage of the act of March 14, 1900, which nearly doubled the circulating medium in the state. The populist Omaha platform of 1892 had centered around the free coinage of silver, the means which the populists took to get more

money in circulation. In the second place, most of the important planks of the party were taken over by the major parties, such as the initiative and referendum, the direct election of the president vice-president and the senate, and the postal savings bank. Either Roosevelt or Bryan had taken their planks, and there was nothing much left for the populists to do.

The people's party has gained a significant place in the history of political parties because it proposed many meritorious principles which were later adopted by the country at large. In Illinois, politics, this party is prominent chiefly through its influence upon the older elements especially the Altgeld wing of the Democratic party. The Altgeld Democrats in the first place favored nearly the same things the populists favored and in the second place played an important part in the acceptance of these principles in the national democratic platform in 1896. But the importance of the people's party, in the largest sense, comes from the fact that this party brought to the public's attention, the need for financial, political, and economic reform, and a program whereby these evils might be remedied.

APPENDIX A. COMPARISON OF THIRD PARTY PLATFORMS

In the following table, from McKee Nat'l Conventions and Platforms "1872," represents the Union Labor platform of 1872, "1876" represents the Independent Greenback platform of 1876; "1880" represents the Greenback Party platform of 1880; "1884" represents the Greenback or people's Party platform of 1884; "1886" represents the Union Labor platform of 1886; "1889" represents the St. Louis convention platform of the farmers' and labor organizations which met at St. Louis, Missouri, December 1889; "1890" represents the Ocala Convention platform at Ocala, Florida in December 1890; "1891" represents the Cincinnati convention platform at Cincinnati, Ohio in May 1891; "1892" represents the Omaha platform of July 4, 1892.

<u>Plank</u>	<u>1872</u>	<u>1876</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1886</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1892</u>
More Paper Money	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
8 Hour Day	x ^a		x	x	x ^b			x	x	x
No Contract Prison Labor	x		x	x	x					x
Graduated Income Tax			x	x	x			x	x	x
Free Coinage Silver			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Postal Savings Bank					x				x	x
Government Ownership Railroads				x ^c	x	x	x ^d	x ^d	x	x
Non-ownership of Land by foreigners					x	x	x	x	x	x
Limitation Immigration	x		x	x ^e	x ^e					x
Election President, Vice- President and Senators by popular vote	x		x	x	x ^f			x		x ^f
Revenue Government limit- ed to expenses				x ^g		x	x	x	x	x
Equal Suffrage			x	x ^h	x			x		x

<u>Plank</u>	<u>1872</u>	<u>1876</u>	<u>1880</u>	<u>1884</u>	<u>1888</u>	<u>1889</u>	<u>1890</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1892</u>	<u>1892</u>
Anti-Monopoly			x	x	x					x
Pensions					x					x
Sub-Treasury Plan						x		x	x	x
Exclusion Chinese Immigrants			x		x					
Abolition National Banks					x	x	x	x		x
Enforce Factory Sanitary Laws			x							
Prohibition				x ^h						
Government Loans on Land		x						x	x	
No Child Labor			x							
Initiative and Referendum										x

Notes: "a" for laborers paid by the government; "b" hours reduced;
 "c" construction of national railroads and postal telegraph;
 "d" government control of railroads; "e" limit importation
 of foreign labor; "f" Senators only; "g" abolition in-
 direct taxation; "h" submit amendments to the people.

APPENDIX B. ELECTION RESULTS OF 1892

The populist vote, considered by sections, does, however, show certain tendencies of party strength:

Northern Illinois	Total 1892	Populist 1892	1892 Percent	1894 Percent
Jodaviess	5,740	129	2.1	1.5
Stephenson	7,642	70	.9	1.2
Winnebago	9,366	194	2.1	6.0
Boone	2,674	52	5.2	1.9
McHenry	5,765	31	.6	0.5
Lake	5,129	31	0.5	2.5
Kane	14,940	353	2.3	3.0
De Kalb	6,377	36	0.5	1.0
Ogle	6,499	33	0.5	1.0
Carroll	3,214	107	2.5	2.6
Whiteside	7,072	95	1.3	2.4
Dupage	5,114	16	.3	1.4
Kendall	2,844	28	.9	1.5
Will	13,860	113	.7	1.3
Lee	<u>6,563</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>.9</u>
Total. . . .	103,805	1,349	1.3	2.7
Cook County				
Cook County	262,219	1,614	1.3	11.7
North Central Illinois				
Rock Island	9,645	219	2.3	6.0
Henry	7,779	312	4.0	6.0
Bureau	8,337	324	3.9	12.7
LaSalle	18,360	191	1.1	5.0

North Central Ill. Total (continued)		Populist 1892	1892 Percent	1894 Percent
Grundy	4,296	44	1.0	7.8
Kankakee	6,570	30	.4	1.4
Iroquois	8,338	87	1.7	6.8
Livingstone	8,564	184	2.2	2.1
Woodford	4,680	63	1.4	1.4
Marshall	3,534	18	.5	1.0
Putnam	1,142	14	1.2	2.5
Peoria	15,924	321	2.0	4.7
Stark	2,475	246	10.0	14.9
Knox	9,588	331	3.4	6.0
Warren	5,445	51	1.0	2.2
Mercer	4,685	107	2.3	5.9
Henderson	2,417	27	1.1	1.0
Hancock	8,121	303	3.7	4.6
McDonough	7,103	243	3.8	3.8
Fulton	10,872	379	3.5	4.7
Tazewell	7,033	115	1.7	3.0
McLean	15,070	63	.4	2.8
Ford	3,878	20	.3	2.9
Vermillion	12,817	174	1.4	6.1
Champaign	10,414	80	.8	1.0
Piatt	4,816	23	.5	1.0
Dewitt	9,402	86	1.9	2.4
Macon	9,695	95	.9	2.5
Logan	6,385	87	1.4	4.0
Menard	3,316	115	2.7	5.2
Mason	4,034	19	.5	1.2

North Central Ill (continued)	Total	Populist 1892	1892 Percent	1894 Percent
Cass	3,936	81	3.0	2.4
Schuyler	3,850	209	5.5	4.0
Brown	2,846	315	11.0	12.7
Adams	<u>14,813</u>	<u>185</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>2.2</u>
Total..	245,504	5,164	2.1	2.6
South Central Ill.				
Pike	7,646	1043	13.9	14.0
Scott	2,522	214	8.4	5.6
Morgan	7,937	195	8.4	2.6
Sangamon	14,634	181	1.2	1.3
Christian	3,850	419	5.5	7.1
Shelby	5,100	876	12.3	9.2
Jersey	3,516	76	2.0	1.0
Moultrie	3,286	264	8.0	5.0
Douglass	4,490	70	1.6	1.2
Coles	7,604	97	1.1	5.2
Edgar	6,711	195	2.9	2.9
Clark	5,200	655	12.5	9.5
Cumberland	3,570	209	5.8	3.4
Crawford	3,930	220	5.6	3.5
Jasper	4,539	296	7.1	6.5
Effingham	4,539	130	2.4	2.7
Fayette	5,411	836	15.1	12.5
Macoupin	9,544	288	3.0	4.0
Montgomery	8,041	171	2.3	3.9
Greene	5,594	329	5.9	3.8
Calhoun	1,575	146	9.2	3.5

South Central Ill. Total (continued)		Populist 1892	1892 Percent	1894 Percent
Madison	11,772	354	3.0	3.0
Bond	<u>2,478</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>2.3</u>
Total...	133,165	7241	5.2	6.8
Southern Ill.				
St. Clair	14,034	356	2.5	6.8
Clinton	3,925	114	2.9	2.8
Marion	5,587	532	9.1	11.0
Clay	3,887	424	10.8	9.7
Richland	3,460	297	8.0	9.0
Lawrence	3,362	106	3.1	2.7
Wabash	2,733	44	1.6	6.1
Edwards	2,157	56	2.5	.4
Wayne	5,534	559	10.4	8.0
Jefferson	5,534	806	15.3	16.0
Washington	4,165	145	3.5	4.9
Randolph	5,528	180	3.2	2.6
Perry	4,169	193	4.6	4.9
Franklin	3,684	198	5.4	3.3
Hamilton	3,823	157	4.1	3.5
White	5,483	213	3.9	3.0
Gallatin	3,158	203	6.4	0.0
Saline	<u>4,351</u>	<u>293</u>	<u>6.6</u>	<u>8.0</u>
Total .	119,189	6731	5.7	6.9

Recapitulation	Total 1892	Populist 1892	Percent 1892	Percent 1894
Chicago	262,214	1,614	.6	11.7
Northern	103,796	1,349	1.3	2.7
N. Central	157,419	5,374	2.1	2.6
S. Central	133,165	7,031	5.2	6.8
Southern	<u>119,789</u>	<u>6,739</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total. .	876,386	22,107	2.5	7.04

Taken from report of Sec'y of State of Illinois for election of
1892 and 1894.

Central Illinois (continued)	Total 1894	(57) Populist 1894	Percent 1892	Percent 1894.
Iroquois	8,126	66	1.7	.8
Livingstone	8,135	156	2.2	2.1
Woodford	4,414	167	1.4	1.4
Marshall	3,931	55	.5	1.0
Putnam	1,146	29	1.2	2.5
Peoria	14,043	673	12.0	4.7
Stark	2,249	275	10.0	14.9
Knox	8,479	541	3.4	6.0
Warren	6,397	111	1.0	2.2
Mercer	4,564	259	2.3	5.9
Henderson	2,784	28	1.1	1.0
Hancock	8,193	335	3.7	4.6
McDonough	7,064	274	3.8	3.8
Fullton	10,454	495	3.5	4.7
Tazewell	7,049	188	1.7	3.0
McLean	12,111	308	.4	2.8
Ford	3,698	94	.3	2.8
Vermillion	10,506	564	1.4	6.1
Champaign	9,787	92	.8	0.0
Piatte	3,835	38	.5	1.0
Dewitt	4,589	108	1.9	2.4
Macon	10,509	207	.9	2.5
Logan	6,355	252	1.4	4.0
Menard	3,535	165	2.7	5.2
Mason	4,038	44	.5	1.2
Cass	4,003	87	3.1	2.4
Schuyler	3,924	156	5.5	4.0

APPENDIX C. ELECTION RESULTS OF 1894

Northern Counties	Total	Populist 1894	Percent 1892	Per cent 1894
Jodaviess	5,466	79	1.5	2.1
Stephenson	7,363	83	.9	1.2
Winnebago	8,476	483	2.1	6.0
Boone	2,592	87	5.2	1.9
McHenry	5,932	35	.5	.5
Lake	4,465	113	.6	.5
Kane	13,070	373	2.3	3.0
DeKalb	5,291	52	.5	1.0
Ogle	5,751	52	.5	1.0
Carroll	3,940	95	2.5	2.5
Whiteside	6,157	144	1.3	2.4
DuPage	4,713	58	.3	1.4
Kendall	2,225	33	.9	1.5
Will	12,384	792	.7	1.3
Lee	<u>5,099</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>.9</u>
Total. . .	92,904	2539	1.3	2.7
Cook County				
Cook County	291,403	33,966	1.3	11.7
Central Illinois				
Rock Island	8,437	501	2.3	6.0
Henry	7,270	467	4.0	6.0
Bureau	8,548	963	3.9	12.7
LaSalle	18,608	886	1.1	5.0
Grundy	4,123	322	1.0	7.8
Kankakee	5,751	76	.4	1.4

Central Ill. (continued)	Total 1894	Populist 1894	Percent 1892	Percent 1894
Brown	2,623	332	11.0	12.7
Adams	<u>14,496</u>	<u>300</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>2.2</u>
Total. .	143,374	5,965	2.2	2.6
South Central Ill.				
Pike	6,670	922	13.9	14.0
Scott	2,675	142	8.4	5.6
Morgan	7,751	198	8.4	2.5
Sangamon	15,339	205	1.2	1.3
Christian	9,787	497	5.5	7.1
Shelby	6,085	553	12.5	9.2
Jersey	3,207	29	2.0	1.0
Moultrie	3,282	175	5.0	8.0
Douglas	4,350	51	1.6	1.2
Coles	7,431	378	1.1	5.2
Edgar	6,987	155	2.9	2.9
Clark	5,101	486	12.5	9.5
Cumberland	3,424	118	5.8	3.4
Crawford	4,140	137	5.6	3.5
Jasper	4,019	253	7.1	6.5
Effingham	4,177	112	2.4	2.7
Fayette	5,200	644	15.1	12.5
Montgomery	6,371	233	2.3	3.9
Macoupin	8,736	327	3.0	4.0
Greene	4,483	158	5.9	3.8
Calhoun	<u>1,592</u>	53	9.2	3.5
Madison	10,857	311	3.0	3.0

South Cent. Ill. (continued)	Total 1894	Populist 1894	Percent 1892	Percent 1894
Bond	<u>3,228</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Total. .	135,190	6,225	5.2	4.6
Southern Ill.				
St. Clair	14,218	840	2.5	6.8
Clinton	3,807	136	2.9	16.8
Marion	1,508	562	9.1	2.8
Clay	4,102	367	10.8	8.9
Richland	3,405	303	8.0	8.9
Lawrence	1,608	59	5.1	5.6
Wabash	2,811	182	1.6	6.5
Edwards	2,223	52	2.5	2.5
Wayne	5,542	455	10.4	8.2
Jefferson	5,106	891	15.3	17.5
Washington	4,336	198	3.5	4.8
Randolph	5,726	195	3.2	5.4
Perry	4,357	217	4.6	5.0
Franklin	3,717	121	5.4	3.5
Hamilton	3,778	132	4.1	3.5
White	5,612	158	3.9	2.8
Gallatin	3,125	272	6.4	8.6
Saline	4,284	344	6.6	8.2
Williamson	4,857	126	4.0	2.7
Jackson	6,154	401	5.5	6.6
Union	4,059	53	1.1	1.3
Johnson	2,932	598	13.0	20.6

Southern Ill. (continued)	Total 1894	Populist 1894	Percent 1892	Percent 1894
Pope	2,297	345	11.6	15.6
Hardin	1,625	134	10.6	8.3
Alexander	4,095	170	1.7	4.2
Pulaski	2,155	42	1.4	2.0
Massac	2,498	158	5.0	6.3
Monroe	<u>2,903</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>6.0</u>
Total . .	112,855	7,851	5.7	6.9
Recapitulation				
Chicago	291,403	33,966	0.6	11.7
Northern	92,904	2,539	1.5	2.7
N. Central	232,851	5,965	2.1	2.6
S. Central	135,190	6,255	5.2	6.8
Southern	<u>112,855</u>	<u>7,851</u>	<u>5.7</u>	<u>6.9</u>
Total. .	873,426	60,066	2.7	7.04

Taken from report of Secretary of State of Illinois for
election of 1892.

APPENDIX D. Comparative Vote 1892-1912

	Illinois	Kansas	U. S.
1872 Liberal Republicans	Combined with Democrats		
1876 Independent National	17,233	7,776	81,740
1880 Greenback	26,558	19,951	308,578
1884 Greenback or People's	10,910	16,341	175,565
1888 Union Labor	7,090	37,726	146,934
1892 Populists	22,207	163,111	1,041,021
1896 Populist(Fusion) <i>not</i>	1,090	46,194	245,728
1900 Populist (anti-fusion)	6,725		49,787
1904 Populist	7,725	6,156	113,258
1908 Populist	1,651		28,131

Taken from McKee, National Conventions and Platforms, and
Daily News Almanac, 1912.

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